

NOTES

THE NEWLY-FOUND YORK GRADUAL

ONE of the chief gaps in our knowledge of English Mediaeval Service-books has been caused hitherto by the want of a York Gradual. The Sarum Gradual is known both from MSS and printed editions, and a MS Gradual of Hereford use is in the British Museum; but all such information as to York use has been wanting, and the deficiency was the more lamentable because of two points on which information could be found from no other source but a York Gradual, viz. (i) as to the music and the tropes to the Ordinary—faced Kyries, &c.,—where little could be gleaned from the Missals, and (ii) as to the sequences peculiar to York use, whose text was known from the Missals, but whose music was not recoverable except from a Gradual of that use.

In searching for such a book, my hopes have so many times been disappointed that even when Mr. Jenkinson brought me the rumour of an English Gradual in the Phillipps collection they were only languidly aroused, and circumstances prevented me from pursuing the quest when the Phillipps collection came to the hammer. The volume was sold; and attracted by the fact that it formerly belonged to the Nottinghamshire village of East Drayton, Mr. James Ward of Nottingham bought it for his collection of books and MSS relating to Notts. Here it was identified by the Rev. A. M. Y. Baylay, of Thurgarton, as being the long-sought York Gradual; and through the kindness of Mr. Ward and Mr. Baylay I have had every facility and help in drawing up a brief account of the MS.

It consists of 134 folios of vellum measuring 461 x 279 mm., bound in oak boards covered with sheepskin, and with the exception of the loss of the first leaf is in perfect condition. Collation 1-7⁸, 8¹⁰, 9-16⁸, 17⁴. It clearly was designed for a village church, for it takes no account of ordinary week-days, Ember days, or even week-days in Lent. Apart from Sundays and Festivals, with some of their Vigils, it contains only Ash Wednesday, the last three days of Holy Week, the Octaves of Easter and Pentecost, Rogation days, and Dedication. The services of the B. V. M. follow the Temporale; next the Ordinary (p. 156), the

Sanctorale (p. 178), the Commune Sanctorum (p. 233), and lastly the Requiem Mass (p. 263). The date of execution was the earlier part of the fifteenth century.

The additions made in a later hand to the MS are of some interest. First, the home of the book is revealed thus on p. 266 :

'Iste liber . . . ville de Est drayton.'

And on the following pages there are lists of names which probably refer to the same parish.

The mark of Sir Thomas Phillipps' ownership is stencilled on the first page with the number 2711.

Another curious entry is the following schoolboy's remark on p. 224 :

'Hodie foras progressus est nobis pædagogus Itaque si literis firmetur (?) in membranis cras ludendi fuerit facultas. Finis. Quod ego G. B.'

There are, further, two bits of pricksong written somewhat roughly into the book ; (i) at p. 170, a setting of the *Veni Creator* tune, exclusive of the first line, in three parts with the melody in the middle, and (ii) at p. 43, a setting of *Deo gratias* also in three parts.

It will be well to turn at once to the two chief points for which a York Gradual is specially valuable ; and first to deal with the music and the farcings of the Ordinary, which are points of general liturgical as well as of musical interest.

I. The farced Kyries are not given in full in any of the copies of the York Missal, either in MS or in print. Dr. Henderson reconstructed provisionally a list of ten¹, which are mentioned in rubrics in the Missals. Eight of these figure in the Ward MS, viz. *Rex uirginum* and *Cunctipotens*, which share the same melody in common, *Conditor Kyrie*, *Lux et origo*, *Orbis factor*, *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, *O rex clemens* and *Puerorum caterua*, together with *Kyrie uirginitatis*², which has the same melody as *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, but is not reckoned by Henderson. The two which he reckoned, which are not in this MS, are *Kyrie rex splendens* (the melody is there given with *Puerorum caterua*) and *Kyrie omnipotens Pater*, which he cites only from the late Votive Mass of the Five Wounds in the printed Missals, and which therefore it is no surprise not to find in the MS.

With each farced Kyrie directions are given for its use, which in some cases are fuller and in some respects less full than the directions inserted in the course of the Temporale and Sanctorale. The Kyries are also given in their simple form without the farcing, and there follow five additional plain Kyries.

¹ Henderson, *The York Missal* (Surtees Soc., vols. 59 and 60) ii 241.

² This trope is printed with some imperfections in *Winchester Troper* (H. Bradshaw Soc.), p. 141. The rest are in Henderson.

There is thus nothing of special importance in the Kyries ; but with the *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus* the case is different. Eight settings of the *Gloria* are given, viz. all of the nine used by the Sarum Gradual except the third and sixth, together with a *Gloria* in the seventh and eighth Modes which appears as No. II in the Solesmes Gradual. There are two tropes besides the ordinary *Spiritus et alme*, which is familiar as being the one trope of this class which was regularly retained in the Sarum use. One of the two others is the trope *O rex gloriae*, of the *Regnum tuum solidum* type, which occurs in many early English MSS, and in one MS of the Sarum Gradual¹.

The third of these tropes is the shortest but the most interesting ; indeed it is hardly an interpolation at all. The phrase runs thus :—

Deus pater omnipotens,
Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe
Et sancte spiritus.

That is to say, the trope is really a survival of the old reading of the *Gloria in excelsis* which commemorates the Holy Trinity at this point. It appears thus in the Codex Alexandrinus :—

θεὸς πατὴρ παντοκράτωρ
κύριε υἱὸ μονογενῆ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῆ
καὶ ἕκτον πνεῦμα.

In Latin, in the Bangor Antiphoner, the Stowe Missal and Liber Hymnorum, thus :—

Deus pater omnipotens,
Domine filii unigenite ihesu christe
Sancte spiritus dei.
Et omnes dicimus Amen.

And in early Ambrosian books in shorter form still :—

Deus pater omnipotens
Iesu Christe
Sancte spiritus².

It would be of great interest to trace the ancestry of this reading, preserved in the York Gradual though degraded to the level of a Trope. The musical setting is that already alluded to, which is not found in the Sarum Gradual ; but a form of the same setting figures as the second in the Solesmes Gradual ; all trace of the Trope and its music is wanting there. It has no affinity with the Ambrosian setting³, and nothing is known of its Irish music, therefore it becomes necessary to ask whether

¹ Bodl. MS Rawl. Liturg. d. 3. See the text in *Winch. Proper* p. 55.

² See Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor* ii 76 ; Magistretti, *Liturgia della Chiesa Milanese* 145, 204.

³ See for this Dom Mocquereau's Essay in *Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1898).

the reading may not be derived direct from the Greek rather than from any Latin translation. In favour of this is the fact that the *Gloria in Excelsis* in Greek is not an uncommon feature of early Tropers. In the Winchester Tropers the passage in question runs thus :—

Thee patir pantocraton
Kyrrie yie monogeni isu criste
Ke agion pneuma.

Again the music shows no affinity between the two, but it seems likely that the survival of the old reading in this setting in the York Gradual is to be traced, by some such direct line of communication as this, to a Greek text.

For the *Sanctus* seven settings are given corresponding to Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10 of the Sarum series. Four of these have tropes, viz. :—

1 Quem pium benedicat turma (*Winchester Troper* p. 138).

2 Voci uita sit unita legis amicitia.

This was used as a Sequence at Hereford (*Hereford Missal*, p. 179).

3 { O mater dei gloriosa, gemma domina preciosa, speciosa,
 { O domina deliciosa fragrantissima plusquam rosa, tam formosa,
 { Funde preces filio, pias piissimo, ut nos soluat a peccatis,
 { Et purgat a uitio, nos immundissimo, auctor summe pietatis,
 { O uirgo preclara fulgida speciosa, salue porta celi cristallina
 { O mater domini domina gloriosa, Aue maris stella matutina.

Osanna, &c.

5 { Clangat hodie uox nostra melorum symphonia :
 { Instant agmina iam quia preclara solempnia.
 { Resonent nunc tinnula armonie organa musicorum chorea,
 { Tonorumque dulcia alternatim concrepent uoce modulamina.
 { Eya pason † altissona, per notum discrimina,
 { tetrachordis figurarum alta conscendens culmina,
 { Sustollat nostra carmina, ad celi fastigia,
 { ympnis angelicis coherenda pari melodia.
 { Quo nos mereamur ampla capere promissa,
 { Siue fruituri meta sanctorum gloria :
 Ad quorum collegia pia nos ducant merita. *In excelsis.*

The rubrics direct the use of the tropes only on principal double feasts, and then apparently there was a free power of choice between the four, except that No. 3 is allotted to feasts of the B. V. M. ; and this *Sanctus* is also prescribed in the Temporalè for the second Mass of Christmas Day without verses.

Six settings are given of the Agnus : four of these correspond to

Nos. 1, 2, 9, 10 of the Sarum set, and the first two have tropes as follows:—

1. Lux lucis, &c. (*Winchester Troper* p. 68.)
2. Fons indeficiens, &c. (*Ibid.* p. 130.)

Another corresponding to No. XIV of the Solesmes Gradual has the trope, *Mortis dira ferens* (*Ibid.* 130). The remaining setting corresponds with No. VII of Solesmes, and has the following trope:—

Factus homo sumpta de uirgine carne Maria :	<i>Miserere.</i>
Quem genuit mater sine patre pater sine matre :	<i>Miserere.</i>
Virginis auxilio propulsis hostibus omnem :	<i>Dona.</i>

The first two of these tropes are assigned to be sung on double feasts, the third on principal doubles, and the fourth on principal doubles of the B. V. M., and (in the Temporale) at the second Mass of Christmas Day without verses: in spite of the want of precision in the direction for the first two, it is probable that none were sung except on *principal* doubles, as the rubric at the beginning of the Ordinary directs.

II. It is time now to turn to the second of the two main points of interest which have been already mentioned.

There are a number of Sequences in the York Missal, which are rarely if at all found elsewhere. Hitherto there has been no opportunity of knowing the melodies of such Sequences, and consequently, on opening the MS of the Gradual, they are points to which one will naturally turn with some eagerness. Two are set down for the Octave of Ascension, both of them rhythmical Proses of the French type, *Sonet uox fidelium Alleluja*, and *Letetur orbis die ista*; and one for Trinity of the later metrical type, *Adoremus unitatem*. In each case the melody is given in full in the Gradual. *Sonet uox* is written to the well-known melody called *Pascha nostrum*, and *Letetur orbis* has the same melody which is used for *Voce iubilantes magna*: while *Adoremus unitatem* has the same melody as occurs again in the Gradual for *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* and is found elsewhere (e.g. in the Dublin Troper) for the latter Sequence and for *Saluatoris mater pia*.

Further, it is interesting to note that the short sequence of Adam of S. Victor, *Trinitatem simplicem*, so rarely used in Liturgical books, is here set to the well-known Whitsuntide melody *Laudes deo deuotas*. This is also used here for the Sequence of the B. V. M. *Gaude dei genitrix*, which, though not peculiar to York, deserves mention because it is not commonly used.

On turning to the Sanctore, thirteen Sequences claim special attention as belonging to York use exclusively. Five of these are non-metrical Proses of the Notkerian type.

1. *Sancti Pauli* { *conuersio* } (S. Paul) proves to belong to the melody known as *Lyra*.
2. *Scrupulosa quorundam sententia* (Eleven Thousand Virgins) to the melody called *Occidentana* or *Cithara*.
3. *Alma dei genitrix* (B. V. M.) to the melody *Tuba*, well known from the Sequence, *Alma chorus domini*.
4. *In solempni memoria* (SS. Peter and Paul) to a melody at present not identified.
5. *Deo laudes gloriose* (Decollation of S. John Baptist) to the same melody as *Sacrosancta hodierna* (S. Andrew) and *Alleluia nunc decantet* (Apostles) in the Sarum series.

With these five, another Sequence of the same type *Christo canamus diei* (S. Vincent) deserves mention : it is not peculiar to York, for it was used at Bec and at Westminster Abbey, but it is of very rare occurrence, and the melody is not yet identified.

The eight remaining Sequences of the Sanctorale which occur here and are distinctive of York use are all of the later metrical type.

1. *Saluatoris clementia* (Tr. S. Wilfrid).
2. *Virgo mater gratuletur* (S. John ante portam Latinam).
3. *Gaude mater ecclesia* (S. John Beverl.).
4. *Regi Christo applaudat ecclesia* (S. William).
5. *Plaudat chorus plebs letetur* (S. William).
6. *Hac in die recolatur* (SS. Peter and Paul).
7. *Suspendentis aquas filii* (S. Bartholomew).
8. *Pater uerbum eructauit* (Tr. S. Cuthbert).

The seventh of these has the melody of *Missus Gabriel*; the others are not yet satisfactorily identified, though Mr. Bannister who identified three of the non-metrical proses for me has been kind enough to make several suggestions based upon a comparison of the opening lines.

Side by side with these another metrical Sequence deserves notice, though not entirely confined to York, viz. *Laudes Christo decantemus* (B. V. M.), which is easily recognised as being modelled upon the well-known melody of *Laudes crucis*.

So far the MS Gradual has provided all the information that has been sought for in it : but there are two places where the inquirer is met with disappointment. For the York festival of S. William instead of the six Sequences given in the printed Missal only two are forthcoming (see above) : the following are not included in the MS Gradual :—

1. *Pasti greges de pastore*.
2. *Voto uoce cordis oris*. Mr. Morse's MS Sarum Gradual has this sequence for the translation of S. Edmund Abp.

3. *Sospitate morbos lenit.* This is obviously modelled on the prose of S. Nicholas, *Sospitati dedit egros.*

4. *Cetus noster iocundetur.*

Again at the festival of S. John of Beverley the MS Gradual knows nothing of two Sequences which are printed (but only from one MS) in Henderson's reprint of the Missal¹. They are *Exultemus et letemur* and *Chorus noster iocundetur*.

But these are the only disappointments: the Gradual has not of course the Sequences of the later Festivals—The Visitation, The Holy Name, The Crown of our Lord—nor has it the Sequence for S. Anthony *In hac die letabunda* which Henderson prints² from MS E: but these are known from other sources. Apart from these and the two groups for S. William and S. John of Beverley, the MS gives complete information as to all the York Sequences, and some of this, as has been shown, is of unique importance.

III. A general comparison of the MS with the reprint of the Missal brings out a few minor points of interest.

At the third Sunday in Advent the following direction is given for the Sequence: *Hec sequentia cantetur, et post quemlibet uersum repetatur prosa dicti uersus preter ultimum uersum, ut sic.*

For S. Silvester the Sequence prescribed is *Organicis* as in MS A of the Missal.

For the Tract at Septuagesima the direction is given—*A quatuor cantetur in medio chori tractus.*

The services of Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday are like the reprint of the Missal; but the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday is directed thus:—*Duo sacerdotes nudis pedibus preter casulam uestiti iuxta australe cornu altaris tenentes crucem dicant* Popule meus &c. *Duo diaconi in choro iuxta gradus nudis pedibus canant ter genua flectentes* Agios o theos &c. *Chorus flectens genua dicat* Sanctus deus &c. *Postea duo sacerdotes cum cruce aliquantulum progressi dicant* Quia eduxi &c. *Duo diaconi* Agios: *chorus autem* Sanctus deus. *Sacerdotes amplius progressi dicant* Quid ultra &c. *Duo diaconi* Agios: *chorus* Sanctus deus. *Tunc sacerdotes in loco ubi crux adorabitur nuda cruce dicant* Ecce lignum &c. *Ps.* Beati &c. *Chorus* Ecce lignum &c. *¶* Beati qui . . . exquirunt eum. *Interim prelatus et ministri et decani † cum clero adorent crucem.* *Ant.* Ecce lignum. *¶* Non enim . . . ambulauerunt. *Chorus* Ecce lignum. *¶* Tu mandasti . . . nimis. *Alia antiphona interim canenda est.* *Ant.* Tuam crucem &c. *Ps.* Deus misereatur. *Chorus respondeat* Tuam crucem. *¶* Vt cognoscamus . . . tuum. *Chorus* Tuam crucem. *Et cetera usque ad finem psalmi. Et deinceps dum clerus adorat*

¹ ii 229.

² ii 234.

Crux fidelis. *N* Pange lingua. *Chorus repetat* Crux fidelis. [Eight verses follow.] *Dum populus adorat crucem canatur Ant.* Dum fabricator &c. *Prelatus accepta cruce ad sepeliendum incipiat hanc antiphonam et chorus adorans finiat. Similiter alias antiphonas que secuntur.* Super omnia &c. In pace &c. Habitabit &c. Caro mea &c. *Tunc duo presbyteri flexis genibus ponent crucem in sepulchro et thurificent. Ant.* Sepulto &c.

For the services of the B. V. M. two strange compositions figure among the Offertories, though they are really in origin metrical proses, probably belonging to the *Felix namque* Offertory.

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| 1. Generosi germinis | Benedictus filius |
| De radice uirginis | Flore designatus, |
| Flos uernans processit : | Quo gaudet angelicus |
| Super florem spiritus | Chorus satiatus ; |
| Veniens diuinitus | Benedicta uirgula |
| Sanctus requiescit. | Procreans hunc florem, - |
| | Qui uirens per secula |
| | Fragrat in odorem. Maria. |

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 2. O uirgo pulcherrima, | O lumen luminum, |
| O mater melliflua, | O flos conuallium, |
| O dei filia : | O uiri nescia : |
| O stella clarissima, | O decus uirginum, |
| O rosa purissima, | O spes fidelium, |
| O parens lilia. | O plena gracia. |

Fac nos tuum filium
Amare perpetuum,
Mater pia :
Et deduc ad gaudium
Olimpi suauiusimum
Mater pia. *O Maria.*

In the Sanctorale no mention is made of the special ceremonies of Candlemas. For the Translation of S. Edward the Confessor the Sequence *Pater uerbum* is prescribed, as at S. Cuthbert's Translation, and not *Organicis* as in the reprint of the Missal. There is no service for the Vigil of an Apostle.

IV. While the bulk of the corpus of the Gradual can only be expected to agree with other Graduals, there are one or two items to be looked for where the York Gradual should exhibit peculiar features. The MS gives the one Offertory which is peculiar to York use, *viz. Regina celi* for the B. V. M. ; and it uses the Tract melody of *De necessitatibus* for the

Gradual of the Second Sunday in Lent, a peculiarity which York shares with some few other rites.

Of the Alleluia verses which are almost, if not quite, peculiar to York use, it has *Domine dominus noster*¹ for the third Sunday after Trinity, and a *Magnus dominus* for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, varying much from that in the Solesmes Gradual, but it has not the Eastertide Alleluia *Respondens autem angelus* either at Tuesday in Easter Week or on the Second Sunday after Easter², nor has it *Ite nunciate* which is given in the printed Missal at Saturday in Low Week. These are the only points at which the York Gradual might be expected to exhibit features which are not familiar from other Graduals. A more detailed comparison would no doubt reveal certain minor differences of musical readings, but such a laborious piece of collation has not been attempted. The MS has been compared with the facsimile Sarum Gradual in certain points where variation of musical text is specially likely (such as are dealt with in the Introduction to *Graduale Saris-buriense*, pp. xxxviii–xlvi), and in most cases the York readings agree with those of Sarum. Exceptions are the Offertory of Thursday in Easter Week *In die solemnitatis*, where this MS has its own solution of the problem, and the Office of the following Saturday *Eduxit dominus*, which is here treated as belonging to the Seventh Mode.

It is impossible now to go into further detail: enough has been said to show that the MS fills a real gap and fills it on the whole fairly satisfactorily.

WALTER HOWARD FRERE.

A POINT IN PAULINE CHRONOLOGY.

TAKING Acts xii 25 by itself, it is puzzling in more ways than one. If with Westcott-Hort and Wendt we read *eis* 'Ιερουσαλήμ, we must translate, 'returned, at Jerusalem having fulfilled their ministry,' which is hardly harsher in English than in Greek, and the general style of the Acts makes one sure that if the writer meant this he would have written, as Hort suggested, *τὴν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ διακονίαν*, for *ἦσαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ κατοικοῦντες* (ii 5), to which Wendt appeals, is much less harsh. The 'Western' reading *ἀπὸ* is of course a variant of *ἐξ*, not a correction of *eis*, but that only proves that an impossible reading was altered very soon. The addition *eis Ἀντιόχειαν* in E Sah. and other versions and cursives may possibly once have been an alternative correction. Then the two participial clauses are put together in a way to which grammarians, so

¹ 'Domine deus noster,' wrongly, in the printed edition.

² But on the second occasion a cross reference is given by a rubric to the earlier place as if it were there.